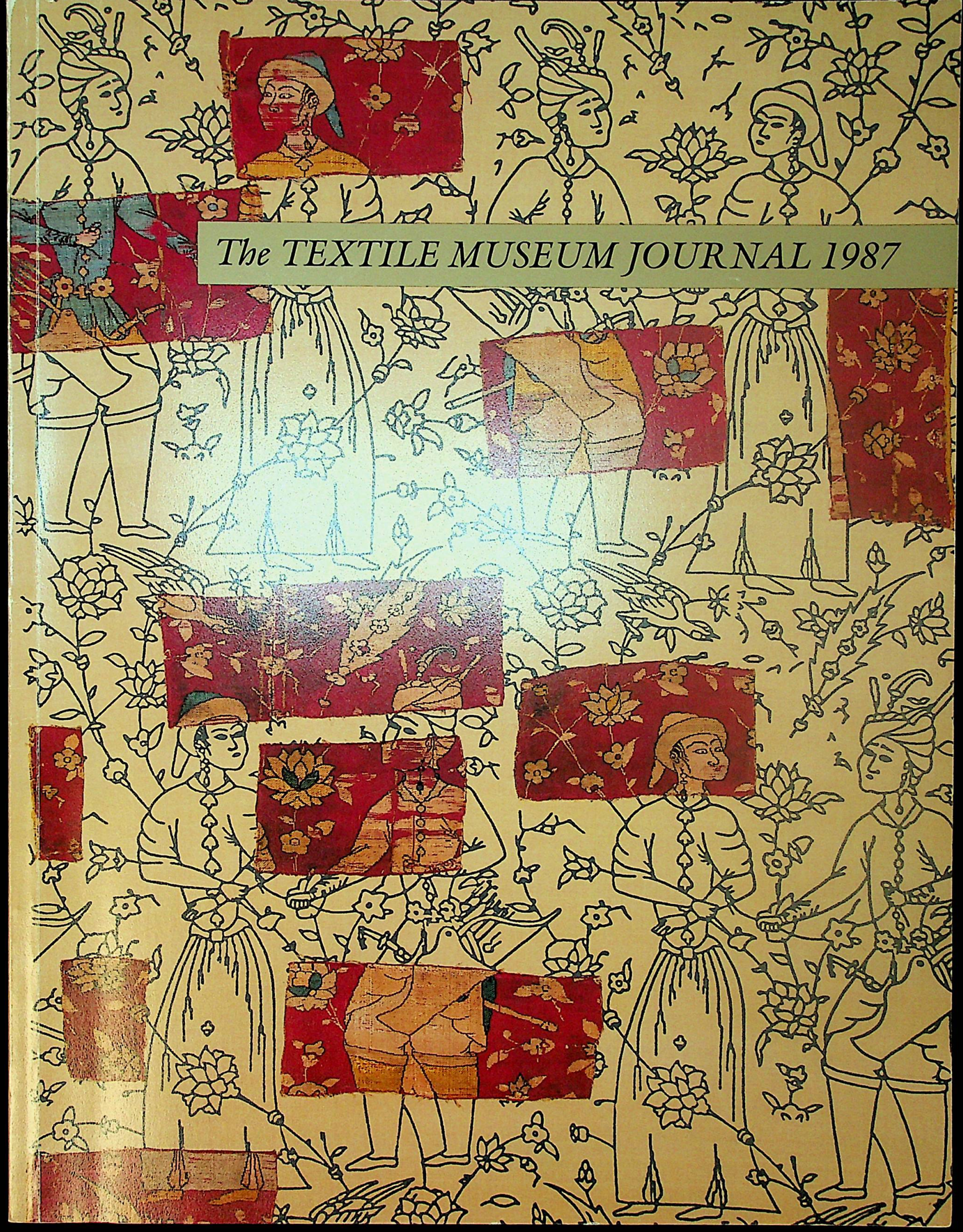
The TEXTILE MUSEUM JOURNAL 1987



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Silk textile fragments, See Mary Anderson McWilliams, "Prisoner Imagery in Safavid Textiles," Fig. 9
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Edward Owen

Note to contributors:
In 1962 The Museum initiated *The Textile Museum Journal* to foster research and publication on the history of textile arts. Emphasis is placed primarily upon research relating to textiles from the geographic areas represented in the museum's collections: the Near East, Central, South and Southeast Asia, and South and Central America. The journal provides a forum for original research on the artistic and technical aspects of textiles in their historic and cultural contexts.

The Textile Museum Journal invites submission of original articles that fall within its aims and scope. Manuscripts should be twenty to forty-five double-spaced typed pages and be accompanied by an abstract and cover sheet with title and short autobiographical statement. Authors must follow the most recent edition of *Chicago Manual of Style* (currently 13th ed.). Authors may submit no more than twenty good-quality 4 x 5 or 8 x 10 black-and-white glossy photographs, including camera-ready artwork. All illustrative material must be accompanied by a separately typed sheet of figure captions.

For further information, write to the Coordinator of Publication, *The Textile Museum Journal*, 2320 S Street, NW, Washington, DC 20008.

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LEARNING to WEAVE in CHINCHERO

Edward and Christine Franquemont

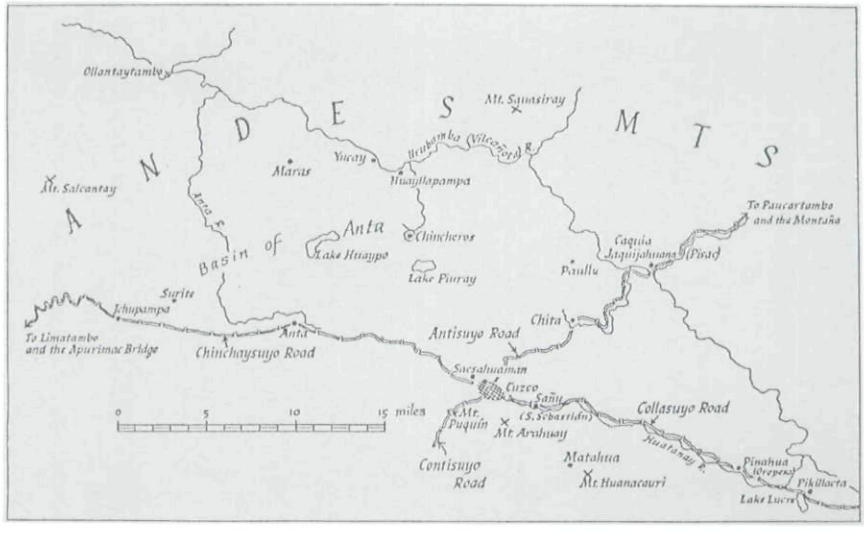
In 1977, the authors spent a year doing fieldwork in the community of Chinchero, Peru, near Cuzco (Fig. 1). Our aim was to investigate the methods and concepts employed by contemporary Quechua weavers in the manufacture of elaborate pick-up patterned fabrics. We settled in Chinchero because of its active community of weavers of all ages, but our primary goal at that time (like that of many other researchers) was to unlock the "meaning" of the complex textile patterns woven by Chinchero women. Our first challenge in working toward this ambitious goal was to learn to weave and to think about weaving in the way that Chinchero women do. We wrote this article early in 1978 in the form of a report to Dr. Junius Bird of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, who supported part of our research. It provides a good example of how a folk tradition perpetuates itself. Necessarily, it is written in the anthropological present, frozen in time in the mid-1970s. The economic and social changes of the years since then have been swift and inescapable and have had a profound impact on Chinchero and its weavers. One of the shepherd girls who taught us our first patterns, Ñilda Callañaupa, is now a university graduate, while most artisans have shifted their focus from local use of textiles to production for the tourist trade and other cash markets. As part of our continuing research in Chinchero, we have explored these changes as well as more subtle questions about the nature of the tradition in the first half of this century.

The Early Spinning Stage

Quechua children are nursed and carried on their mother's backs until the next baby is born, frequently for as long as three years. It is only after this time that adults enter into conversations with them or encourage them to deal with the world. Their first few years of development follows surprising directions. Many of the five-year-olds in our daughter's class at school, did not know their own names and could speak only in the most rudimentary way. Yet, an eight-year-old girl who accompanied us on a walk through the Inca terraces north of town gave us a remarkably complete Quechua taxonomy of plants and insects and commented upon their various uses, something we had been having trouble eliciting from adults in the community. When we asked her name, however, she was unable to reply. Clearly, a child's development follows lines that seem most encouraging. Quechua adults make no formal effort to convey a specific body of knowledge to their children; rather, education proceeds by a system that might best be termed the expectation-example-ridicule

Left:
Fig. 12
Valentina Cusihuaman weaving a chumpi *band with many kallwa (shed swords)*

Below:
Fig. 1
Map of Cuzco area showing Chinchero



method. There is a heavy, but unspoken, ethic of conformity about traditional Chinchero society that assumes with great certainty that little girls will learn to be women and little boys will learn to be men despite the fact that no one ever spells out the routes to follow. Children observe the activity occurring about them and begin to imitate their elders. So long as these efforts seem to be headed in the proper directions, no one pays much attention to them; but if they deviate from the accepted norm there is a swift reaction. Rather than correcting the children and showing them where they might have gone wrong and what to do about it, Quechua adults tend to burst into guffaws or other forms of verbal abuse. These kinds of reactions are remarkably successful at teaching children to preserve the skills and values of their parents. Innovation is less important than the ability to master the intricacies of the shared folk tradition. These lessons are not quickly forgotten; censure seldom needs to be applied to individuals over the age of ten.

A girl's education in the textile arts begins at about the age of five with spinning, which she learns by this example-and-ridicule process. It always causes a good laugh when a little four- or five-year-old picks up a crude stick and some of her mother's fleece and tries to spin, but the child is soon rewarded with a real spindle on which her mother has started some yarn. From there, she is largely on her own in learning the mechanics of spinning, for she receives no teaching other than an occasional example by an adult. Her learning technique is simple and straightforward: relentless perseverance powered by the overwhelming expectation on the part of the adults in her life that she will master the necessary skills. With this unspoken pressure behind her and space in her day to practice, she cannot fail. Cipriana Quispe taught her six-year-old daughter Victoria to spin by leaving her on the hillside behind the house with the family sheep rather than sending her to school.

We came to know Victoria one rainy day when it was too wet for anything to be outside. The relief from the routine of herding meant that she spent the morning engaged in small household chores. While her mother spun in the darkness of the adobe house, Victoria quickly assumed the role of hostess by serving us the boiled dried beans, corn, and potatoes that are the staple food of the area. Between tasks, she sat silently at her mother's side, but was flattered and shyly complied when we asked for a sample of her spinning. "She only learned three months ago," her mother noted as Victoria began to produce beautiful yarn through slow, painstaking effort. When finished, she proudly brought us the small ball of yarn and took the ten soles back to her mother, undoubtedly the first money she had ever earned. Because of the strong pressure to conform, girls concentrate from the beginning on producing yarn that is every bit as good as that of their mothers and never pass through a stage when they spin the sort of thick, irregular yarn that we ordinarily associate with beginners. The result is a remarkable group of young spinners who produce significant quantities of high-quality yarn for the town's weavers (Fig. 2). One eight-year-old we knew was acknowledged to be one of the best spinners in town and was regularly employed as a specialist. The importance of these little girls as a source of yarn is clear. When we inquired of older women about spin-

Fig. 2
Julia Cusihuman, age seven, spins as she watches her sheep amidst the Inca ruins of Chinchero

ning rates, most replied that when they were young and spun every day, they could fill two or three spindles a day (at 85-115 grams per spindle). Now that they were out of practice, they were lucky to be able to fill one.

Because there is no directed teaching of spinning mechanics, girls often develop methods that are somewhat different from those employed by their mothers and older sisters. This causes no particular comment so long as the yarn that results is of acceptable quality. These differences are most easily seen in the way in which the thread is wound onto the left hand prior to being rolled onto the spindle. This procedure ensures that the yarn will not double and kink when tension is relaxed in order to slip the half hitch off the spindle and that the yarn will wind smoothly onto the spindle. Most people in Chinchero accomplish this by winding the yarn in a figure-eight pattern around the first two fingers of the left hand; some use the thumb and first finger, others use the thumb and first two fingers, and a very few use the first three fingers. Early in our stay in the town, we developed our own thumb-and-ring-finger method that attracted absolutely no attention despite its originality. A spinner learns on her own to wind the yarn in the manner she finds most comfortable. We know several families in which each spinner uses a different method. The existence of these minor variations is in direct contrast to the uniformity of the yarn produced, suggesting that the ethic of conformity is applied at the level of results rather than at the level of process. This is confirmed by the variations in the way weaving is done. The lack of guidance over the details of the process of spinning can have more serious consequences, however. Eight-year-old Maruja Huamán learned to spin beautiful yarn but unfortunately it is *lluq'i,* or left-handed. Such yarn has spiritual connotations and is reserved for special uses. As of yet, she has not been able to master the reverse direction.

Hand spinning remains the best way to profit from the fleece of sheep that are raised in Chinchero and the only practical way to obtain high-quality yarn for weaving. There are no spinning mills near the town, so it is not possible to order machine-made yarn, and the factory-spun yarns of natural and synthetic fibers that are marketed in Cuzco are invariably too soft for Andean warp-weaving techniques. Hand-spun yarns are always on sale in Cuzco's great Saturday market, but most weavers disdain them because they are frequently of low quality, having many knots or irregular color. For this reason, the skills of yarn production are still of great importance to all townspeople in Chinchero, even to those who have left most other trappings of traditional life in favor of greater participation in mestizo society. Almost all girls and a great number of boys pass through the Early Spinning Stage to acquire these necessary skills, making it perhaps the most universal of all stages of life in Chinchero. From this time onward, almost all women fill their spare time with spinning. While one seldom sees men spinning spontaneously, many can demonstrate their proficiency, an indication of their participation in the Early Spinning Stage. Tomas Huamán is in his late thirties and still prepares the fleece for his wife's spinning when he has the time. It is a habit he developed in his youth: his mother sat him and his three siblings down to clean wool each night while she prepared supper.

The rate at which a girl grows out of the Early Spinning Stage depends on her family's needs and her own social skills. If there is need for a full-time shepherd, she may be pushed along. If she has older siblings who are contentedly performing the job, she may spend more time with their mother. In general, however, it is a girl's ability to handle more responsibility as she comes into her own, discovers the world outside her house, and passes from childhood to adolescence that marks the end of the Early Spinning Stage.

The Hakima Stage

The Hakima Stage begins at about the age of ten. The girl is now responsible for the family flock of sheep, and the management of the animals rests principally on her shoulders since the older women are busy with the house and the men are working in the fields. Her charge may include as many as forty sheep. For the most part, she lives at home and drives the sheep out daily, taking her lunch and a few projects with her.

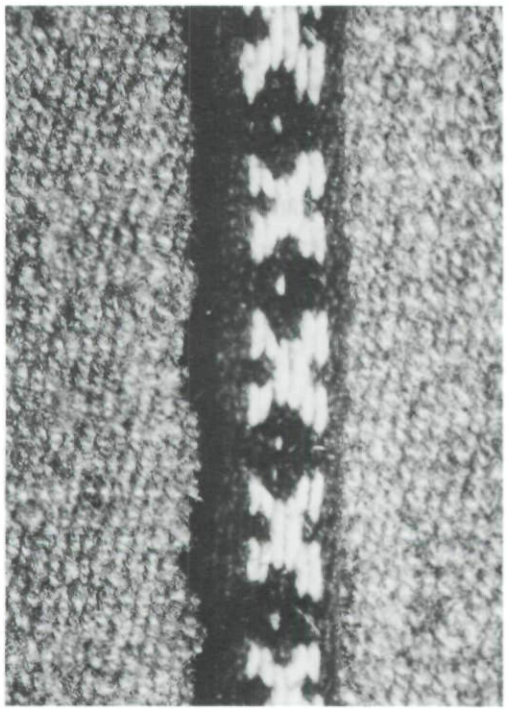
Progressive drying of the land is one

of the critical problems confronting Chinchero today, and the shepherd girls are deeply affected by it. The grass, once grazed, does not regenerate in the space of a single season. Thus, shepherds are forced to go farther and farther each day looking for adequate pasture, a search that may take them as far as six kilometers away from town. A family with an extremely responsible shepherd and a large number of sheep may solve this problem by leaving the flock and shepherd on the grassy high punas some six hours' walk from town. There, the sheep grow fat on the plentiful feed, the wool grows long and thick because there are no brambles, and the shepherd passes her time in solitude in front of her *choza*, a stick-and-grass sleeping hut barely large enough to accommodate a single person. Nowadays, however, few families graze their flocks on this high pasture because the demands of school call the shepherd girls from their chores throughout the dry season. The flocks must be grazed near town, where the shepherd encounters other girls her age and quickly shifts the focus of her social life from her house to this rapidly coalescing peer group. The shepherd girls pass the sunny days on the steep hillsides around town in small groups of three to five that allow them to keep their flocks separated while they socialize, forming typically adolescent alliances, enemies, and intrigues. Here, the pressure to conform takes on new meanings: eccentricity is met not simply by the ridicule of the elders, but by the far more poignant condemnation of the peer group.

In the course of their interactions on the hillsides, the girls learn to weave *hakimas*, thin strips of cloth (between 0.3 cm and 1 cm wide, but most often about 0.5 cm wide) that serve as their introduction to weaving (Fig. 3). There are no adults or teachers present; the girls learn together in the way that children learn to play games together. The patterns, techniques, and skills of hakima weaving are the necessary precursors to all more advanced weaving and are learned as part of the general adolescent culture. Despite the fact that there is no formal teaching per se, only the example of slightly older girls, the shepherds learn quickly and well because they are pressured by the attitudes of their peers and the expectations of their elders, and because they have generous amounts of time in which to practice while their sheep are busily grazing. We asked everyone we met, regardless of age, "Who taught you to weave?" Invariably,the response came "No one, I taught myself." Only Cipriana Quispe elaborated on how she taught herself: *"Qhawaspa, qhawaspa, yupaspa, yupaspa"* (Watching, watching, counting, counting).

Many foreigners who come to Chinchero to learn how to weave go astray because they fail to recognize that the rudiments of weaving, rather than being taught, are learned through the vehicle of hakimas. They begin with *chumpis*, belts, expecting an adult to coach them through the basics. They become frustrated by the lack of explicit directions while the teachers, calling them stupid, grow impatient with their fumbling attempts to handle the mechanics of the loom. These problems are not limited to people from other cultures; many Chincherinas fail to learn to weave because they have missed the crucial Hakima Stage. We found such nonweavers sprinkled in all stages of life. At first they puzzled us because we believed that nonweavers resulted from the erosion of traditional values brought by the intrusion of modern economics into the area. When we asked such women how it happened that they never mastered these fundamental skills, they would just shrug their shoulders and reply, "Oh, I don't know, I just never did". We began to understand as we became aware

Fig. 3
Sabiba Choque, age thirteen, learning to weave a new hakima *pattern*



Left:
Fig. 4
A typical beginner's hakima *project with* tanka ch'oro *pattern. (See Fig.10 for drawing of this pattern)*

of the critical nature of the Hakima Stage. Nonweavers may result from the adoption of modern western values, but they also emerge from two indigenous groups of people: those who never became shepherds because of disability and those who did herd but never learned to weave because they were cast as outsiders to the girls' groups. Once a woman has missed the Hakima Stage, there is no remedy; her development in the textile arts ceases at the Early Spinning Stage.

Hakimas are the perfect vehicle through which to learn Andean-style weaving because they contain all of the necessary principles, are simple in design, and can be completed by a novice in a relatively short period of time. The thin strips are one *brazo* long—the distance between the weaver's outstretched arms—and can be woven in some ten traditional patterns (Fig. 4). The principles learned in weaving these strips include: (1) how to make a warp whose threads are ordered by a warping cross, (2) how to tie a heddle, (3) how to manipulate the shedding devices to form the "picker's cross", and (4) how to conceive of a pattern in design units. For the most part, these are technical matters, and the true focus of the Hakima Stage is on developing a facility for the basic processes of Quechua weaving. For reasons of clarity and fluidity, our basic description of how a hakima is made will begin with the warping of the threads. Our purpose here is not to provide a thorough account that will enable craftspeople to re-create the process, but rather to set forth the essentials of hakima weaving consisely. It is important to recognize that while hakima weaving is a girl's first encounter with weaving and provides the basic model that is adapted later for different types of cloth, the skills to weave the hakima are not learned in the order in which it is made by an accomplished weaver. The girls learn in a reverse order that deals with weaving before warping. It is the most logical way to teach textile skills to any beginner because accurate warping demands a thorough understanding of the weaving operation that will follow. For this reason, a girl makes use of a teacher—another girl who "knows" the pattern tells her how to warp. "Knowing" the pattern means that the girl knows the number of pairs needed to weave it, and this concept of the "warping pair" is one of the basic principles acquired during the Hakima Stage.

The warp is formed by winding the yarn around three or four large nails set in the ground. Each complete turn of yarn lies above the previous turn so that the yarns build up in a vertical plane, one above another. The vertical plane represents the future weftwise direction. A warping cross is formed during the winding to keep the threads in the proper sequence. When the warp has been completed, the loop at its far end is tied tightly , the cross is secured by a cord, and another hakima or a stout cord long enough to go around the weaver's waist is put through the loop at the near end of the warp. The nail at the far end of the warp is driven into the ground to make it firm enough to withstand the tension of weaving, the other nails are removed, and the waist cord is tied around the weaver's waist.

The heddle is made of the same handspun yarns that were used to form the warp. The heddle is tied to the warp yarns to produce plain weave which re-creates for the weaver the sequence of threads in the warping cross. Hakima stage weavers use a distinctive heddle in which a single device forms both the heddle shed and the shed-loop shed. In most weaving, including later Chinchero weaving, each shed is

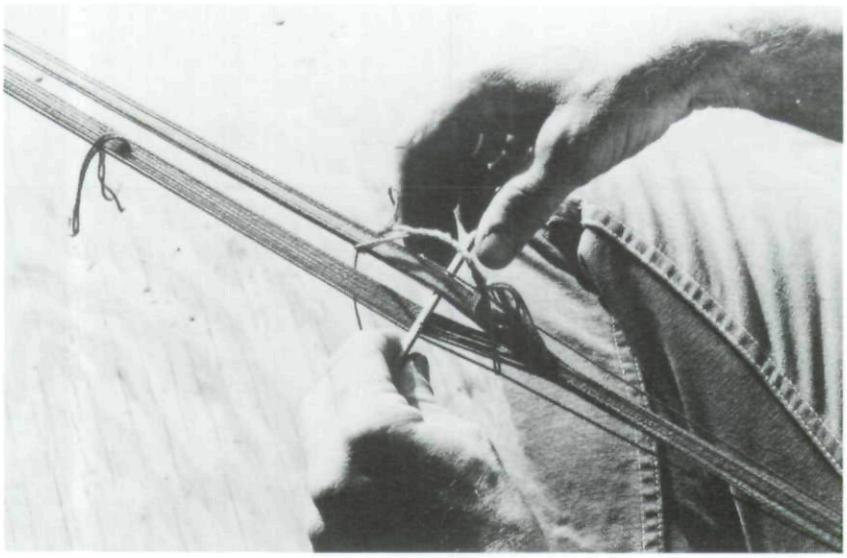


Fig. 5
A single joined shedding device is used for both leases of a hakima *warp*

produced by a separate device. In the case of hakima weaving, however, the heddle and the shed loop are connected, forming a single device that raises either lease (Fig. 5). This is possible only because of the small scale of the fabric. This unusual method of forming the heddle is characteristic of the Hakima Stage.

The weaving of the hakima is most easily accomplished with a single tool—a short, double-pointed shed sword called a *kallwa*. Since this tool is only used to maintain the provisional sheds formed by the shedding devices, girls frequently substitute one of the warping nails, a spindle, a plain stick, or even one of their fingers. The tie up (the pattern of warps raised by the heddle) is simple plain weave of single warps, and all patterns must be formed by picking up with the fingers. In order to do a pick-up pattern, the weaver needs to have a consistent sequence of threads to work from, and this is the job of the shedding device; it continually presents the weaver with the sequence of yarns as it was laid out in the warping cross. To reproduce this cross, the weaver manipulates both parts of the shedding device. The back shed that is held on the shed loop is the easier to form: the weaver simply grasps the threads held in the shed loop in her right hand, holds all the rest in her left hand, and pulls these two leases apart so that the separation comes forward past the heddle where it can be secured temporarily with a kallwa or a finger. The heddle shed is made by grasping the shed-loop shed in the right hand behind the heddle and pulling it down and to the right while lifting up on the heddle with the left hand. This causes a shed to be formed below the heddle loops. A second finger can be put in this second provisional shed, but more usually the finger is placed in the first shed and the kallwa transferred to the second shed. The weaver now has the sequence of threads before her as a cross formed between the lease held on her finger and the lease held on a kallwa, and she can begin the pick- up of the pattern.

The weaver holds the provisional shed closest to her on the fingers of her left hand. She proceeds from right to left to form a new, final shed that is consistent with her pattern. For each warp, the weaver decides whether it is to be kept or dropped in favor of a warp from the other lease. If it is to be kept, the warp is simply transferred to the middle finger of the right hand; if not, it is dropped and the first finger of the right hand is used to select the proper thread from the other lease and transfer it to the pattern shed being formed on the middle finger of the right hand. When this entire final pattern shed has been made, the mini (weft yarn) is passed through, the kallwa is brought forward and used to beat in the mini, a new provisional shed is made behind it to re-create the cross, and the pick up of the second pattern shed can begin.

This process, which is repeated until the unwoven warps are too short to continue weaving and are, thus, left hanging, contains the essential elements of all Chinchero weaving, namely the winding of the warp on a vertical frame, the tying of a string heddle, and the use of the shedding devices to produce provisional sheds from which a pattern shed may be formed. By the time a girl has passed from the Hakima Stage, these fundamentals are second nature to her and can be accomplished smoothly and efficiently. Even a girl's first attempts at hakimas are woven with pick-up.

While technical proficiency is the primary goal of the Hakima Stage, a weaver's abstract conception of her art begins at this point as well. Binary situations abound in Quechua weaving, and there is ample evidence that Hakima Stage weavers are fully

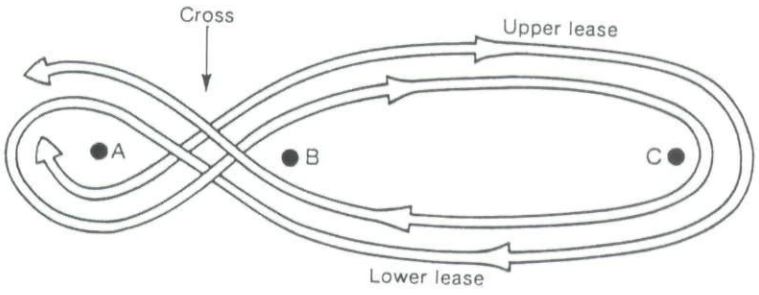


Fig. 6
Warping pattern for a single thread on three stakes. This is used for solid-color warps

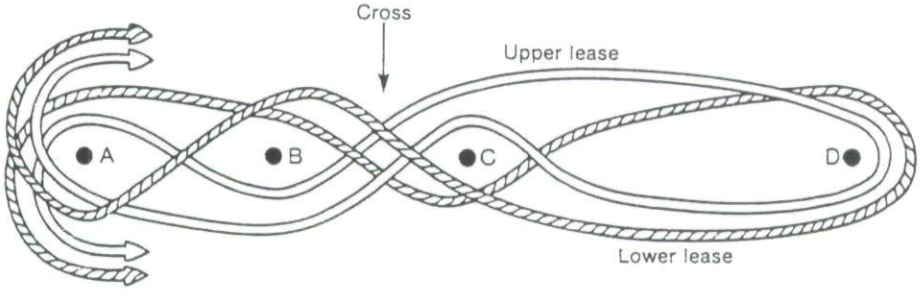


Fig. 7
Warping pattern for two threads on four stakes. This is used for advanced weavers to warp two-color, complementary, warp-weave pattern bands. The yarns are separated into different color leases at the cross but go around the end stakes together

aware of the dualistic nature of their undertaking. All hakimas are complementary warp patterns that depend upon a fundamental opposition between the upper and lower leases of the warp. Weaving proceeds by conceptually pairing a warp from the upper lease with its complement from the lower; when one member of the pair is brought up onto the surface toward the weaver, its complement must be dropped to the reverse side of the fabric. This is clearly a dualistic situation and requires a keen understanding of oppositions and their meaning with regard to the structure of the cloth and the visual impact of the design. The importance of such dualistic thinking from the outset of a girl's education in the textile arts is best revealed by a curious misconception that marks the way hakimas are warped by young weavers.

The warp is made on large nails driven into the ground. Basically, the procedure is like that used by weavers everywhere: the yarn is wound in a figure-eight pattern so as to create a position where the yarns cross. This cross not only divides the warp into an upper and a lower lease but also establishes the sequence of the threads. The shedding devices, once applied at this point, can be used to re-create this sequence for any part of the warp. This basic situation in which the warp is made of a single thread is diagrammed in Fig. 6. A complementary warp is made by holding two threads in the hand simultaneously and dividing them into their respective leases at the cross. The most efficient way to do this is on four nails, as diagrammed in Fig. 7. The yarns are divided into leases at the cross but run together around the end nails. This is possible because the shedding devices, once applied at the cross, will order the threads of the entire warp. It can also be done on three nails, as shown in Fig. 8, but this entails a knot and a reversal of direction at one end nail. Advanced weavers in Chinchero use either the three-nail or four-nail system in this way to wind hakima and chumpi warps, but Hakima Stage weavers do not. Instead, they use a system of long, split leases on three nails (Fig. 9) with a knot and a reversal of direction at both end nails. This requires two people to make the warp, even a short one. This distinctive, although less efficient, warping procedure can exist among Hakima Stage weavers because they do not learn their skills from adults, but from one another, and it tells much about how they think about what they do. These girls obviously do not understand the true nature of the warping cross and its power to order an entire warp.

Fig. 8
Warping pattern for two threads on three stakes. This is used by some advanced weavers to warp two-color, complementary, warp-weave pattern bands. The yarns are separated into different color leases at the cross and go around one end stake together but must be knotted at the other end stake

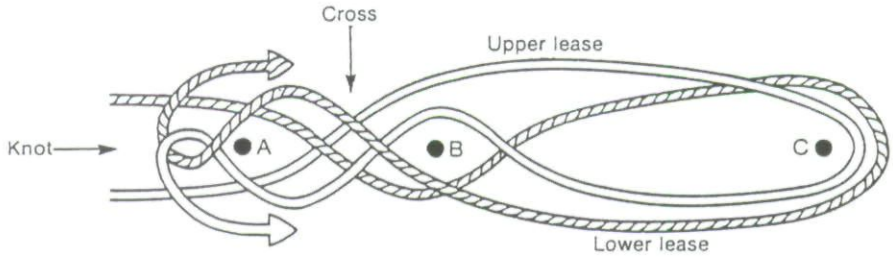
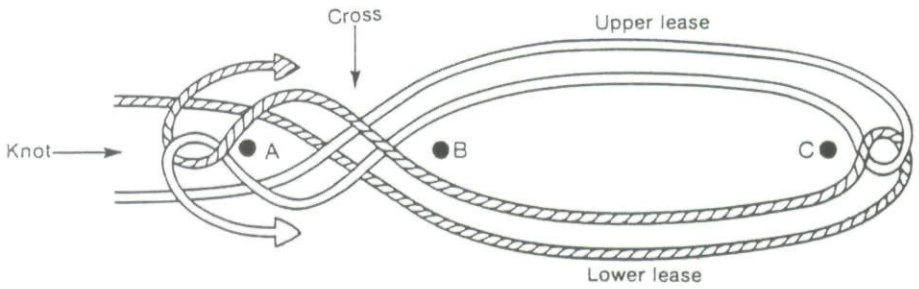


Fig.9
Warping pattern for two threads on three stakes used by young Hakima *Stage weavers. The yarns are knotted at both end pegs to maintain distinct color leases throughout the length of the warp*



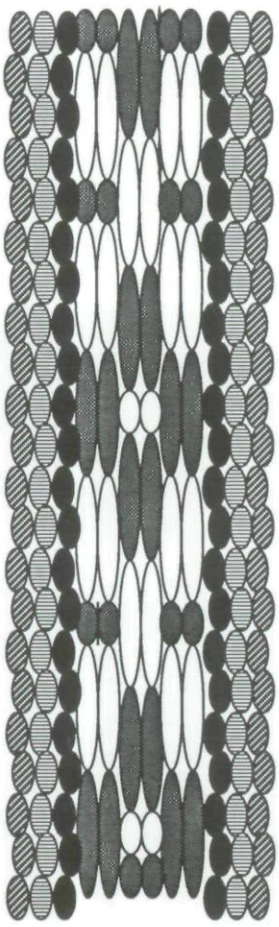


Fig. 10
Tanko Ch'oro *pattern* hakima *with three* lista *stripes*

More significantly, this warping system demonstrates that Hakima Stage weavers think of a textile as resulting from the interaction of balanced, but distinct, halves. It does not occur to them to allow the threads to mingle because it seems like a violation of the basic dual principle underlying the weaving process.

During the Hakima Stage, girls are introduced to the formal organization of a textile. Each hakima consists of a simple design field flanked by a number of woven *listas* (stripes), and this organization becomes the basic building block of all larger textiles. In the case of hakimas, each lista stripe is *ch'ullan*, that is, composed of a single thread in each lease. Since there are usually three such lista stripes on each side of the design field, there is a total of twelve warps in the lista sections. The pattern section is conceived in units called pairs that run warpwise down the length of the weaving. During the succeeding stages of their education, a weaver learns that "the pair" is a sophisticated concept related to design; but for Hakima Stage weavers, it is simply a way of counting warps in groups of two along one lease. Thus, each pair represents four warp ends, two in each lease. Each pattern has a fixed number of pairs and cannot be achieved with more or less. Using the pattern *tanqa ch'uru* as an example, we can see that a fabric that to a Chinchero weaver consists of three pairs actually has a warp count of twenty-four ends (Fig. 10). This results from the following:

2 sections of lista stripes	3 pairs in the pattern
x3 stripes	x4 warps per pair
x2 warps	
12 warps	12warps

12 warps + 12 warps = 24 warps, total

Hakima stage weavers betray their status as beginners in a number of ways. For them, numbers are important and they spend much time counting threads to make their pick up of a pattern come out correctly. This is a slow and cumbersome way to do it and a trap into which even experienced weavers from other traditions fall when they attempt Andean weaving for the first time. From the Chumpi Stage onward, counting is used only as a way of discovering and correcting an error. Most

weaving, even the learning of a new pattern, is done through direct visual inspection and a keen understanding of the visual rhythm of the design. Advanced weavers help locate themselves in a warp by adroitly changing the colors of entire sections to indicate significant places in the pattern field. But Hakima Stage weavers fail to understand this and other uses of color. Frequently, their color choices for the pattern section do not show the design effectively, and the lista stripes often fail to frame the center of the hakima properly. This is a problem we understand only too well: in a year of trying, we too failed to understand the use of color in Chinchero textiles. Hakima Stage weavers probably fail with color because it is of no particular concern to the technically-minded adolescent girls. Our problem resulted from the fact that those who criticized our color selections had no words to describe the problem. Rather, they would just laugh and say, "This? This is no good!" We suspect that Hakima Stage weavers, once they recognize their problem, follow the same course we did—abandoning all attempts at creativity and copying exactly color combinations that seem to be effective in other people's textiles.

Hakimas are not simply teaching devices; they are functional pieces of cloth, and beginning weavers are not the only people who make them. The word *hakima* means bridle strap, or the piece that goes around the muzzle of an animal. We assume that hakimas have served this function although we have not actually seen them used in this way. Hakimas are also known by the word *watana* , which means a thing to tie with, and are in use daily to tie sacks, bags, and cloths. Chinchero people sew a hakima on the end of each chumpi and use it to tie the belt around their waist; they also tie the women's *monteras* or hats on their heads. Hakimas are perhaps most commonly used in the weaving of other hakimas and chumpis, backstrap fabrics that are woven without loom bars. The hakima is put through the beginning of the warp along end nail A as illustrated in Figs. 6-9; the nail is removed, and the hakima is tied around the weaver's waist. A substantial proportion of the hakimas in daily use in Chinchero are provided by Hakima Stage weavers who work with the leftover yarns from chumpi and *lliqlla* (woman's wrap) weaving, but more advanced weavers also make them when needed. It takes only about one hour for a good weaver to warp and weave a two-meter-long hakima of standard yarns. But very traditional women apparently hold to a value that hakimas should be woven of the finest yarns possible. We saw very few hakimas of this type, but we were able to collect a number of samples of yarn spun on special lightweight spindles called hakima spindles.

The Hakima Stage of a woman's life comes to a rather abrupt end at about the age of thirteen. There is a younger sister or cousin who is ready to take on the pasturing responsibilities, and a girl's mother is only too glad to have another hand to help in the house and the fields. Suddenly, those groups of girls on the hillsides seem to be a rather silly waste of time and pale beside the challenges of running a household economy and meeting men. During the final year or so of her time in the Hakima Stage, a girl usually attempts to weave some simple chumpis that come out too short and of low quality. She then discovers that there are women willing to give her advice and guidance if she seeks them out. Furthermore, while hakimas may be interesting, chumpis are worth money. As soon as her eyes are opened, a girl will take two bold steps forward, and practically overnight, leave her youth and the Hakima Stage behind her to become a young woman in the Chumpi Stage of life.

The Chumpi Stage

The Chumpi Stage corresponds to the years a girl spends as a young, single woman in the village. While the focus of her life in the Hakima Stage had been her peer group and the hillsides around town, now she turns her attention to herself and her mother's house. She chooses one or two close friends from the constellation of girls she grew up with, and, as a group, they become inseparable to the point of dressing and talking alike (Fig. 11). Women run the household economies in Chinchero, and the Chumpi Stage woman expands into her new position in the community by sharing the management of money affairs with her mother

Fig. 11
Chumpi Stage friends, right, Lucilla (Cãne) *left, Augusta, Chinero, 1978*

and older sisters. She works in the house and the fields as an adult, buys and sells in the town market or in Cuzco, and may even come to control land and animals on her own. She may undertake a small-scale enterprise, such as selling food or soda in the Sunday market, and practically all Chumpi Stage girls sell the belts they make to women who in turn sell them to tourists in Cuzco or at the Sunday market. The money a girl earns in this sort of enterprise may occasionally find its way into the family coffers, but for the most part it belongs strictly to the girl and is spent on new clothes, jewelry, and other such personal items. While much of this energy is obviously directed at the opposite sex, most Chumpi Stage women loudly claim to have no interest in men and cling tightly to their girlfriends. During the Chumpi Stage, a woman is busily developing her own personal identity; when her relations with men take on an adult character, the Chumpi Stage comes to a close for her.

As part of her attempts to expand her personal capabilities and powers, a girl turns her attention to the production of chumpis. While a Hakima Stage weaver works in a group and uses weaving as a way to sort out their peer relations, a Chumpi Stage woman actively and individually seeks out older, more experienced women who are willing to help her improve her understanding of the textile process. These women may be friends, relatives, or strangers; the only requirement is a willingness to take the time to help the girl learn new patterns. This education proceeds in a straightforward manner: the girl approaches an older woman and says, "Will you teach me *ch'aska*?" (the star, a chumpi pattern). If the woman agrees, she will set to work while her student watches. The warp is made on three or four nails as shown in Figs. 7-8, and the teacher begins to weave the pattern while the girl continues to watch in silence. Every so often the teacher may stop her hands in a particularly important place and say, *"Así"*, (Like this) otherwise, there is no conversation, no questions, and no answers. After one or two repeats have been completed, it is the student's turn. The teacher sits nearby, spinning or peeling potatoes, while the girl struggles through the unfamiliar motions. If there is an error, the teacher simply says, *"Mana valenchu"* (That's no good), a signal that the girl should drop what she had done and

start anew. If errors are too numerous, the teacher will snatch the warp from the girl's hands and do several more picks properly, almost as if she were training the threads of the warp instead of the mind of the weaver. Many women, particularly older ones, reported to us that their chumpi teachers punished them for making errors with sharp blows to the head and hands, saying as they struck, "Do it right!" Learning to weave chumpis in Chinchero is a formidable experience that has thwarted most foreigners who have attempted it. This is because they fail to recognize that chumpi weaving is not really taught; it is learned. That is, the burden of the process is entirely on the student, not the teacher.

Chumpis are used exclusively as belts and are nothing more than larger and more complex versions of hakimas. Their organization is precisely the same—bands of lista stripes flanking a central design field that may be filled with any of about twenty-five traditional patterns. These patterns range from six to thirty pairs, and there are usually three or four lista stripes of one pair each. This means the total warp count may be anywhere from about thirty-six to well over one hundred ends, and a belt is usually between 6 cm and 12 cm in width by 1.5 m in length. When the belt is finished, one end has six or eight four-strand braids that are joined at their ends, with a hakima sewn to one or both ends of the belt. It is worn by men and women alike by wrapping it around the waist, passing the hakima end through the braided loop, then wrapping the hakimas around again until they can be tied together.

Warping and weaving chumpis present no new technical obstacles to the weaver who has mastered the hakimas. The warp is made on nails as before, although once a girl understands the nature of the cross and abandons the long, split leases of the Hakima Stage, she is able to handle the whole process by herself and generally proceeds by the model shown in Fig. 7. The increased width of the web and number of warp ends requires one new piece of equipment—a stick to hold the heddle loops. The shed loop is left independent of the heddle but the process of weaving is basically the same. The weaver raises the heddle and the shed loop alternately to present herself with the basic sequence of crossed threads and picks from these the proper threads to form the design.

Chumpi weaving depends on the use of more kallwa to hold the crossing sheds, to help open the shed-loop shed, and to beat home the weft yarn. Two is the minimum number required, but an experienced weaver who is confident of her pattern is apt to use many more (Fig. 12, see page 54). When two kallwa are used, the process is exactly like that of hakima weaving. When multiple kallwa are used, the rhythm is different. First, all the kallwa are inserted in the crossing sheds: kallwa 1 in the heddle shed, kallwa 2 in the back shed, kallwa 3 in the heddle shed, kallwa 4 in the back shed, and so forth until all the kallwa have been inserted. Next, a pick-up operation is performed for all the kallwa except the last: kallwa 1 is removed, the pick-up is made, then the kallwa is reinserted into the pattern shed. This process is repeated for all of the kallwa except the last. Finally, the weft passage is completed: kallwa 1 is turned on edge, the weft is passed through the web, and the kallwa is removed. The remaining kallwa are advanced, with the one closest to the woven edge brought forward sharply to beat in the last weft shot. When all the picks have been completed, the kallwa are inserted once again, and the process is repeated.

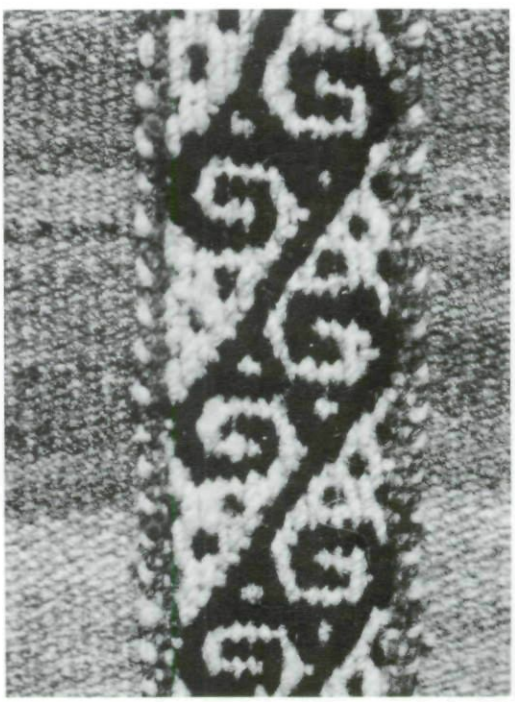
The reasons for using multiple kallwa instead of simply two are not entirely clear to us although we ourselves tend to weave chumpis with four kallwa. Chinchero women claim that it is faster, although our time studies do not support this assertion. Multiple kallwa may help the weaver maintain a mental continuity of the pattern by enabling her to complete a large number of pick-ups at one time, but if one is weaving quickly on a familiar pattern, it does not seem to make much difference. Larger pieces of cloth woven on the true *awana* (large backstrap loom) by older women always make use of at least four kallwa for definite reasons: the multiple kallwa provide a firm resistance against which the weft may be tightly compacted, and they aid in keeping the side selvages straight. Perhaps the custom of multiple kallwa in chumpi weaving stems from their function in the large backstrap loom rather than from

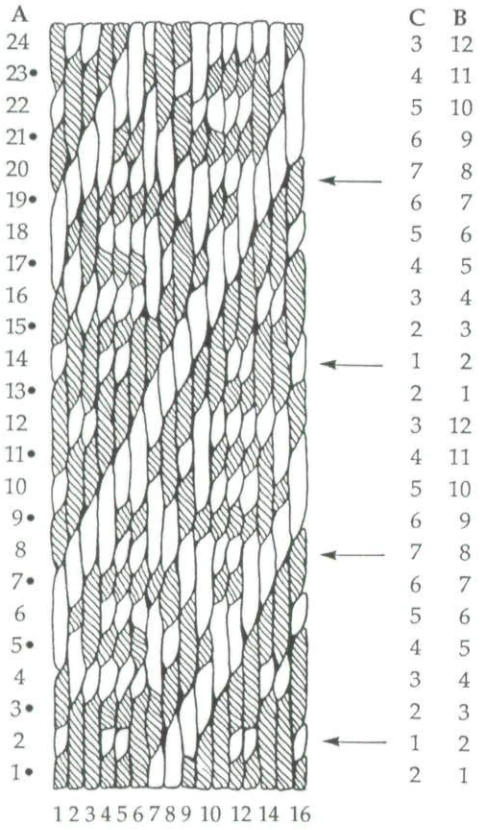
any particular utility in the belt loom. This is all conjecture on our part; the significant point is that all of these differences in tools and techniques are superficial. The process of weaving chumpis is basically the same as that learned in the Hakima Stage.

Since the mechanics of operating the loom are already second nature to her, the Chumpi Stage woman is free to explore the realm of conceptual matters that lies at the heart of Chinchero weaving and constitutes the true distinction between Andean and European textile traditions. She begins by abandoning the counting that marked her years as a hakima weaver and concentrating on developing her understanding of the visual rhythms, harmonies, and symmetries of a few very specific and very complex traditional patterns. Her success and speed as a weaver depend on her ability to conceive of her work in a nonnumerical, nonlinear way. She does not count the number of warps or think of her pattern as being composed of a sequence of shots of weft. Rather, she sees it as progressing from both sides of the warp at the same time and flowing out in as many as four directions from a few critical points in the design. We might say that the pattern has an existence independent of the threads themselves, or that the weaver's perception is based on a rigid and specific idea of the finished textile and not on the possibilities presented by the warp itself. People who have seen Chinchero weavers at work find this difficult to accept, because the process of weaving is, of course, linear; that is, it is composed of one pick at a time with each pick frequently accomplished from right to left. It is also true that when a woman is making mistakes or having problems with a particular design, she is apt to resort to counting warps from right to left to be sure of her pick-up. All of this, however, cannot obscure the fact that when a woman is weaving quickly and rhythmically on a pattern that she understands well, she orients herself by the proper and nonlinear perception of critical points of inflection in the warp and the design, regardless of how she executes it. By contrast, the European weaver depends on a keen understanding of the numbers involved in her work. She divides the warp into a small number of sets of yarns, each of which can be manipulated individually to allow a large number of combinations and, therefore, diverse weaves. For her, the challenge lies in recognizing the possibilities of a warp, not in imposing a fixed pattern upon it.

The principle of points of inflection is perhaps the most important in Chinchero weaving, and we cannot emphasize strongly enough how different this concept is from that of Western weavers. Chinchero people have a capacity for ambiguous thinking that allows them to conceive of, let us say, the front and back, left and right, positive and negative, and upright and inverted sides of a thing simultaneously. The points of inflection are places in the design where the pattern reverses in some way, whether left to right, top to bottom, or both directions simultaneously. Since Quechua weavers value bilaterally symmetrical designs, one such point of inflection is the center of the warp, where the mirror-image halves of the design meet. This place is frequently striped a different color than the rest of the warp to help the weaver find it quickly and accurately. This allows the weaver to orient herself in her pick-up from either the side selvages or the center of the design, depending on which is more convenient. In

Right:
Fig. 13
Haykaku sisan *pattern* chumpi





this way, she escapes many situations that would require counting. While the pick-up of the design is usually done from one side of the warp to the other, many situations occur in which it is more efficient to pick-up a certain number of warps from each side before dealing with the center, or, conversely, to begin in the center and work towards the edges. This demonstrates the importance of the center, conceptually and mechanically.

The points of inflection that occur in the progression of the design down the length of the warp provide a more dramatic example of the principle and its consequences. To best illustrate this, we shall examine two full repeats of *haykaku sisan*, an eight-pair chumpi pattern shown in Figs. 13-14. We have drafted the design and numbered the picks in three different ways. Column A numbers the picks 1-24, or sequentially through two repeats of the design. Column B numbers the picks 1-12, following the order of the repeat cycle commonly used by European weavers. Column C numbers the picks and gives their relationship to the points of inflection perceived by the Chinchero weaver. The European weaver thinks of this design as having twelve distinct picks in one repeat; that is, she recognizes that the pick-up pattern in pick 13 is identical to that in pick 1, that the pattern in pick 14 is identical to that in pick 2, and so forth. The Chinchero weaver perceives the design quite differently. For her, the critical points in the weave are pick 1, pick 7, pick 13, and pick 20, for these define axes around which the design reversal occurs. She recognizes that pick 8 is identical to pick 6, except for side-to-side reversal, and that the same is true for picks 9 and 15, 10 and 4, etc. The contrast in these two ways of perceiving the pattern is illustrated by pick 13, which is the second point of inflection for the Andean weaver and the beginning of the second repeat for the European. The European draws the connection between picks 2 and 14 because they have identical warp configurations and occupy analogous positions in the repeat cycles. Those considerations are relatively unimportant to the Andean weaver who focuses instead on the reciprocal relationship between picks 12 and 14 that is derived from their positions relative to the pivotal pick 13. One obvious consequence is that the Quechua weaver has to conceive of half as many picks as her European counterpart, a fact that greatly facilitates her direct visual comprehension of the pattern and speeds her work. A less concrete, but equally important, aspect of the Quechua perception is the profound symmetrical sense that it implies and teaches, for it is all predicated upon the weaver's ability to think of the pattern as happening simultaneously from both sides of a point of inflection. By thinking in this way, she is able to seize upon symmetrical situations as the fastest and easiest to accomplish.

We had begun to suspect the existence of these points of inflection because of the way we had seen people do pick-up from either side of the warp and choose places to stop when weaving examples for us to learn from, but it was difficult for us to be sure because no one ever deals with this sort of

Left:
Fig. 14
Haykaku sisan *pattern* chumpi *shown without* lista *stripes. In Column A, the picks of weft are numbered sequentially through two full repeats of the pattern. In Column B, the picks of weft are numbered 1-12, following the repeat cycle recognized by Western weavers. In Column C, the picks of weft are numbered 1-7, folllowing the points of inflection recognized by Chinchero weavers. Arrows indicate the points of inflection*

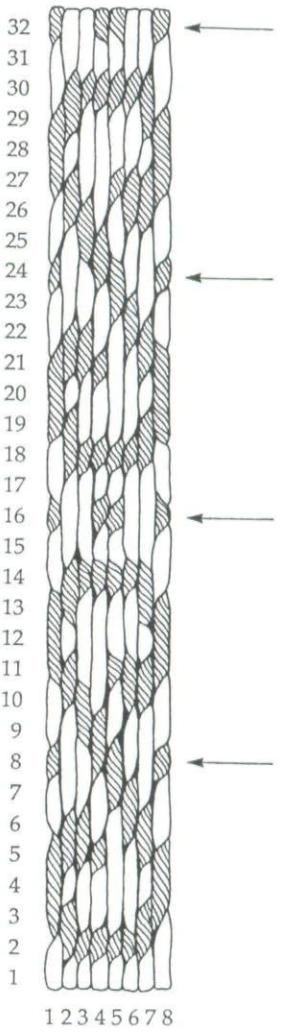
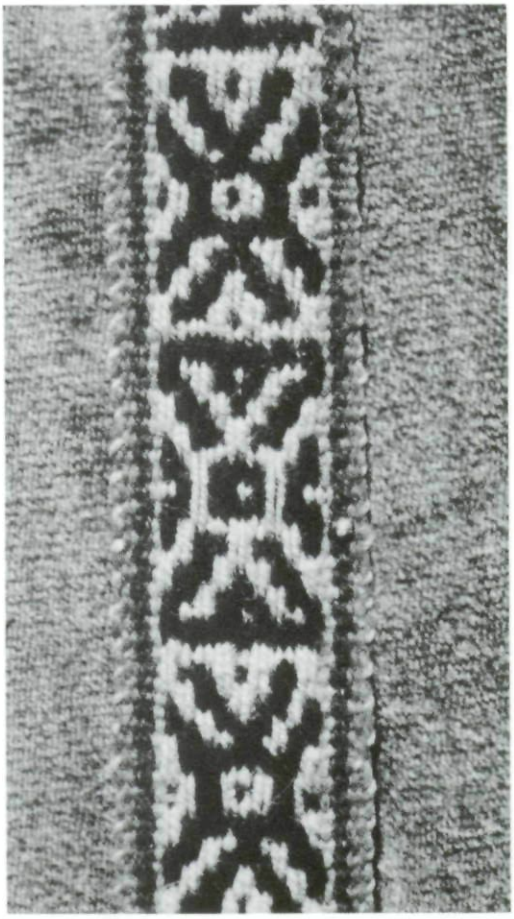


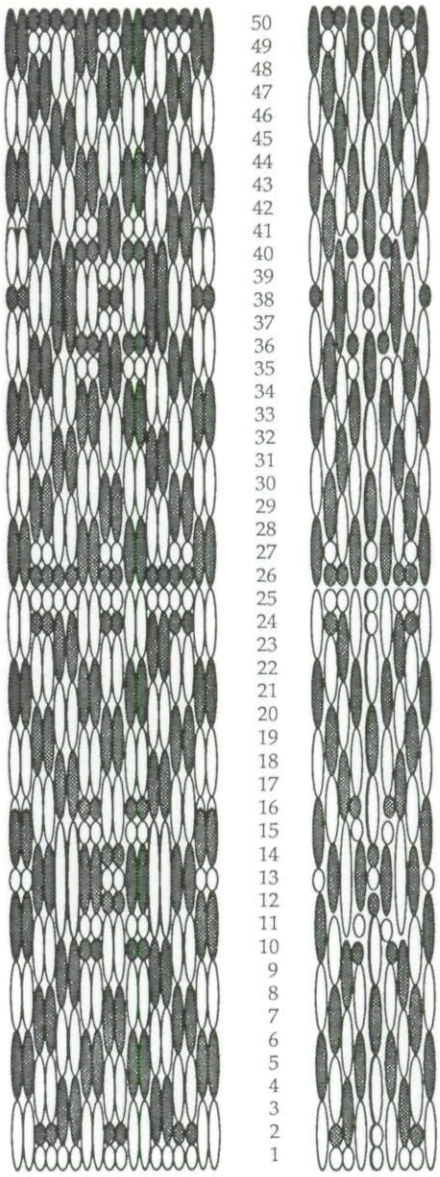
Fig. 15
Kutij *pattern* hakima *shown without* lista *stripes. Arrows indicate the points of inflection*

Fig. 16
Ch'aska *pattern* chumpi
with two-warp pairs and a two-color design



Right:
Fig. 17
Ch'aska *pattern* chumpi
with two-warps pairs and a two-color design, shown without lista *stipes*

Far right:
Fig. 18
Ch'aska *pattern* chumpi
with one-warp pairs and a two-color design, shown without lista *stripes*



matter verbally. A weaver will reply when asked how many pairs there are in a particular pattern, but for all other questions she will simply make a warp and do a bit of the design, obviously depending on the weaving itself to explain all those matters for which words are too cumbersome. We were finally able to demonstrate the existence of the principle of the point of inflection in their minds as well as in ours when our young friend Sabina Choque asked us to teach her *kutiq*, the four-pair hakima pattern illustrated in Fig. 15. Sabina is thirteen and an advanced Hakima Stage weaver on the threshold of the Chumpi Stage, but for one reason or another, this particular pattern had eluded her. For the teaching session, we went out with her and her sheep one day to a hillside not far from town and made a four-pair hakima warp upon which we wove a single repeat of the pattern. When it came Sabina's turn to try it, she was unable to figure out what to do and asked us to count the thread sequence. We complied, counting from right to left in the following manner: "One red, six blues, one red; next pick, one pair red, one pair blue, two pairs red, one pair blue and one pair red," while she correctly completed the indicated pick-up. When we reached the point of inflection in the center of the design, however, she immediately and instinc-

tively began to do her pick-up from left to right, which, of course, resulted in errors and general confusion. In the end, Sabina learned to do the pattern with grace and fluidity while we became convinced of the existence of the points of inflection and learned to read patterns to beginning weavers in a different way. In the Quechua weaving system, our counting of the thread sequence came to be: "One red thread on either side and all the rest blue; next pick, on each side one pair red followed by one pair blue and all the rest red." This was much more successful.

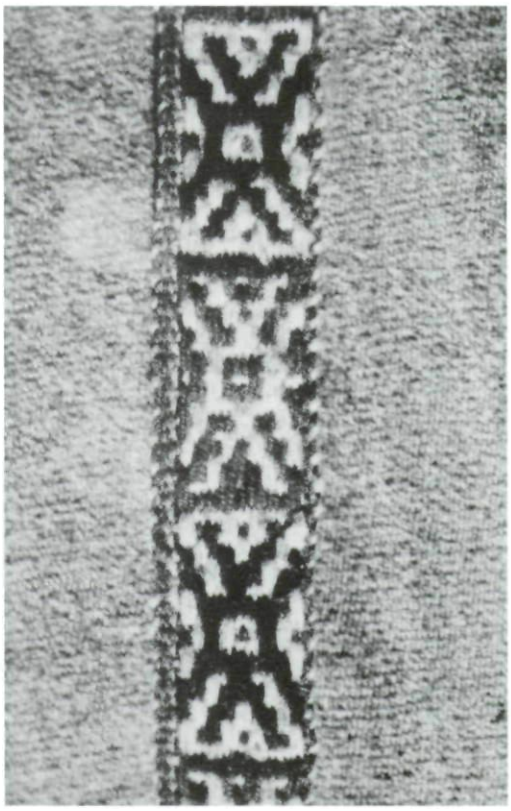
The second major principle of Chinchero weaving that girls encounter in the Chumpi stage is that of the pair as a unit of design. During the Hakima Stage, they learned to think of patterns as consisting of pairs and used the idea of the pair as a way of counting warps in groups of two along one lease. During the Chumpi Stage, a weaver learns that the concept of the pair is more useful as a way of conceiving of patterns. We can illustrate this best by examining several variations of ch'aska, a nine-pair chumpi pattern shown in Fig. 16. Figures 16 and 17 show two repeats of a standard two-color, two-warp pair ch'aska in which there is a total of four warps per pair and, therefore, a design field of thirty-six threads. The colors switch roles in alternate registers. Figure 18 shows the same two-color ch'aska done in one-warp pairs in which there is only one warp per pair counted along one lease; this results in a design field of only eighteen warps. The pattern is the same; the colors still shift roles in alternate registers, but the effect is not so striking. Figure 19 shows a three-color, two-warp pair ch'aska. In this fabric, the white yarn plays a key role while the red and the blue are subordinate; thus, the warp is organized so that for each white warp in the upper lease, there is a red and a blue in the lower. This nine-pair ch'aska, therefore, consists of fifty-four warps. The color alternation is quite striking. Not only does the white shift roles in alternating registers, but the secondary color changes as well, making the first register red on white and the second white on blue. These three examples of ch'aska have radically different warp counts but are all considered to be "nine pairs" by the Chinchero weavers because, for them, the pair is a unit of design into which a warp will be manipulated. The number of pairs does not indicate the number of yarns themselves. The concept of pair is used in several different ways by the Chinchero artisans. It is sometimes used as a means of counting threads. But, its function as a design unit is most significant because this is the way it is most commonly used by advanced weavers and because, as such, it serves to help a weaver orient herself in her work and identify pattern variations.

Color becomes an issue for the Chumpi Stage weaver in a way that it never does for the Hakima Stage girls who frequently throw together patterns that are dull or lacking in contrast. It is somewhat difficult for us to deal with the Chinchero color sense because we never really mastered it and because the weavers themselves never speak about it. They only qualify color choices as either "good" or "bad," "right" or "wrong." Nevertheless, it is apparent that girls enter the Chumpi Stage with an inadequate understanding of the function of color and leave it with an unerring ability to put together effective combinations. The basic issue seems to be contrasts in value and hue; this causes the weavers to favor strong colors for their yarn inventories. Grey, brown, beige, and muddy colors are never used for design bands, and green and red are frequently strengthened by adding black to form greenish black *(yana q'umir)* and reddish black *(yana puka)*.

There are also several lines of evidence that suggest that color may have more important functions than those implied by its decorative qualities. We encountered the first of these while attempting to make an objective study of aesthetics among Chinchero weavers. We asked each weaver or regular seller in the Sunday market to select from her pile of chumpis those that she felt were the best designed, the best made, and the most sellable. While the study ran into problems and was never completed to our satisfaction, it did demonstrate that the most important criteria in judging the quality of a belt were not the fineness of the spinning or the perfection of the weaving, but the number of colors and the way in which they intermeshed.

The second line of evidence comes from the three-color, two-faced patterns like the ch'aska shown in Fig. 19. When the design

Right:
Fig. 19
Ch'aska *pattern* chumpi *with two-warp pairs and a three-color design*



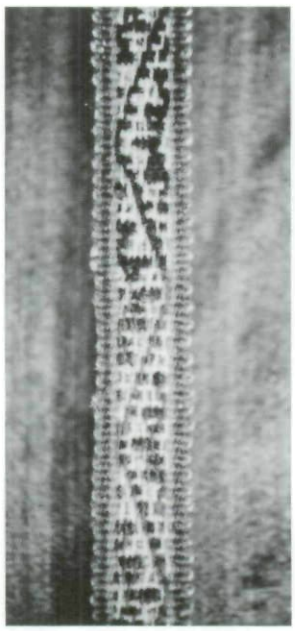


Fig. 20
Chhili *pattern* chumpi *with a three-color design that changes in registers although the pattern does not*

itself is built up in registers (i.e. weftwise bands) as in ch'aska, the registered effect of the color changes seems quite natural. But this color change is also used on three-color running designs that have no inherent registered quality. The color changes, therefore, proceed in their registered manner independent of the design being woven (Fig. 20).

We tested this proposition by weaving a three-color *chunqu chhili* pattern in which the color organization was not registered but followed the design motives; the diagonal line was one color, the background another, and the motives within the background fields another. This belt was a source of great amazement and confusion to the Chinchero weavers. In their eyes, the novelty of the color layout obscured the design. They could not recognize that the pattern was in fact the well-known chunqu chhili. A few people said that we had done it "wrong." Even the colors of the seemingly insignificant lista stripes that flank the main design bands have an importance greater than that which is obvious: on several occasions a weaver refused to warp a chumpi because she lacked a particular color that she deemed necessary for the border stripe.

The current wave of tourism in Chinchero has had its most profound effect on the Chumpi Stage weavers. Traditionally, this stage has been a time when girls acquired prestige by demonstrating their proficiency with all the complex belt patterns. In the Chumpi Stage, all *pallays* (patterns) are learned along with their identifying names and pair counts, but no reference is ever made to their possible meanings. The choice of a pallay for chumpis is personal and reflects the weaver's level of accomplishment since she may know, let us say, q'iswa but not chhili. Now, however, this traditional set of values has been superceded by the desire to make money through sales in the Sunday market and, thereby, become known as clever and resourceful. This money, in turn, is most commonly used to buy nontraditional clothes (sweaters, skirts, hats, and even shoes), further obviating the need to weave. More and more often, girls concentrate on producing easy, supplementary warp pattern belts *(ley)* because they can be made quickly and the tourists will pay as much for them as they will for belts with more difficult patterns. Furthermore, older women are failing to pass out of the Chumpi Stage since they can earn more money weaving two ley a day than they could ever hope to make producing larger pieces of cloth. The result is that the young weavers aquire limited skills while the older ones tend to remain in what should be a developmental phase of their careers. We expect that there will be many changes in the Chinchero style of weaving as a generation of weavers with a skewed design vocabulary and a limited amount of experience comes into its own in the town.

People of Chinchero believe that a woman will injure her back if she weaves on the large backstrap loom *(awana)* before she has had children. For this reason, the Chumpi Stage does not end until a woman begins to live with her husband and starts a family. The end of the stage is not clearly fixed in terms of years, but comes upon a woman rather suddenly with the arrival of the first of her offspring. Childless women may never pass out of the Chumpi Stage. Dominga Quispe, for example, was not fortunate enough to have children. Conse-

quently, at age thirty-five, she has just begun to weave on a large loom at the urging of her mother, a professional weaver. If a woman has no husband, she may become a full-time, contract shepherd, spinning and—though not weaving—possibly engaging in such men's activities as sling-braiding.

The Early Awana Stage

A woman begins the fourth stage of her development by settling on a husband and striking out on her own. This time is marked by competitiveness, ambition, and concentration upon herself and her new family's economy. Women in Chinchero usually set up housekeeping between the ages of eighteen and twenty, and frequently choose younger men as their mates. The impetus for this union is often pregnancy, but there are a good many couples who begin to live together long before their first child is born, and there is a strong ethic of romantic love among people of marriageable age of both sexes. In Chinchero, as in most parts of the Andes, this union is not sanctioned by state law or by the church and can be dissolved at any time by either partner; a more formal church and state marriage occurs later in life when a couple has acquired sufficient resources to be able to afford the lavish party that the situation demands. The newly married woman is painfully aware of how little she has in comparison to more established women and puts much of her energy into correcting this situation through hard work and shrewdness in money matters. These become her most cherished virtues.

Usually, a woman begins her married life in the house of her parents or in-laws, and this situation heightens her ambitions to become successful enough to start her own household. Gossip and small talk among Early Awana Stage women reflect these traits and focus not so much on who is sleeping with whom, but rather on who has acquired what and at what price. How a woman handles her major resource—her husband—becomes very important. He is generally a young man who has accomplished little on his own as a single man, and the woman sets about helping him to produce the surplus of crops that spells prosperity in the Andes. She encourages him to form a strong and diverse network of reciprocal relationships *(ayni)* that will insure their success both economically and socially, and she discharges her part by arranging feasts for the working men. Her close friends of the Chumpi Stage may be included in this ayni network but otherwise are not of great importance to her during this stage of life since they too are married and busy establishing themselves. The Early Awana Stage woman adopts a whole new pattern of social relations that marks her as an up-and-coming woman in the town.

One of the principal new social alliances she forms is related to her development as a weaver and reflects her newfound values for growth and individuality. She recognizes that among the items she will need for her new house is cloth, not just chumpis but also ponchos for her husband, lliqllas for herself, *q'ipirinas* to carry the baby about, blankets, and potato sacks; she sets about learning to produce them on the large backstrap loom. To accomplish this, she forms a special new relationship with an older woman who will guide her through the intricacies of warping and weaving on the large loom. It might be her mother or another relative who helps her in this way, or it may simply be a woman with whom she is friendly. In any case, this relationship between an older weaver and a younger student is called *allwi masi*, or warping partners. Strictly speaking and by definition, this term refers to any two people who are working together to make a warp. While all *allwi masi* are not in this master-apprentice relationship, all Early Awana Stage weavers form specific and long-term relationships of this sort. The long-term nature of the relationship is what sets it apart from the kind of transient student-teacher situation that Chumpi Stage weavers use to learn belt patterns. Because it is long-term and specific, the allwi masi relationship functions within the broader context of general social relations in Chinchero that are based on work-related ayni partners, food sharing, and regular reciprocal visits. The younger woman and her husband will help the older with work in the fields and provide gifts of potatoes and fava beans in keeping with the norms of these institutions, and each woman will help her partner make warps or ply yarn for weaving. The real motivation of the older woman, however, is not economic gain; it is prestige

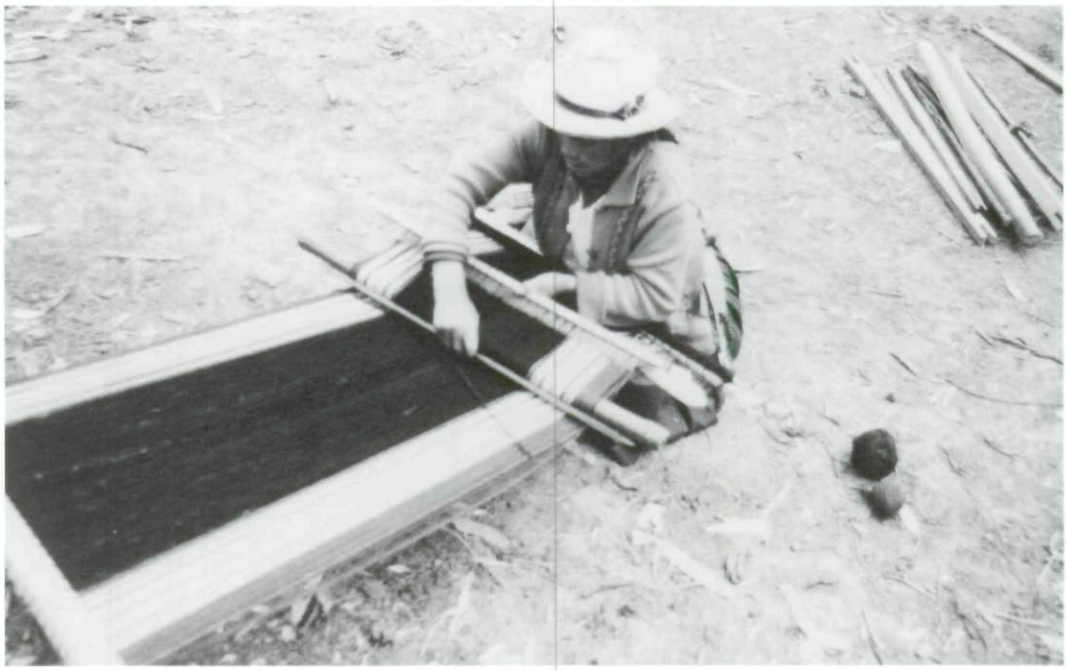


Fig. 21
Fidelia Callanaupa raising the heddle shed of a llijlla loom by rolling the warp back over the shed roll

Fig. 22
Fidelia Callanaupa inserting a kallwa in the heddle shed of a llijlla loom

and self-esteem; she enjoys the role of being an excellent weaver and a knowledgeable woman and appreciates the feeling of having a protegée in whose progress she can take pride.

Both partners try to maintain the allwi masi relationship as long as possible because it takes a great deal of time to learn how to handle the awana, even for experienced chumpi weavers. A beginner's first cloth is very slow work. We finished a lliclla in three months of steady work, and people indicated that we were remarkably successful. There are special secrets for speeding along each step of the process, especially the needlework that finishes the cloth, and they can only be learned by experience. The senior *allwi masi* partner is of immense help in this because she appears at just the right time with a new tool or a word of advice that opens the novice's eyes. Most of the difficulty in learning to handle the awana comes from the fact that a completely different set of motions and rhythms is necessary to do the work. This is a result of the need to use a new set of tools and techniques to handle the increased size of the loom and does not reflect any changes in the principles upon which the loom operates.

The awana introduces front and back loom bars called *kakina* that serve to keep the warp spread to the proper width, and heading cords that form tight end selvages. The back shed, which, on the chumpi loom, is held on a shed loop, is passed over a true shed roll in the awana, and this requires a different set of motions to raise the heddle shed (Figs. 21, 22). The heddle loops themselves are formed around a needle and threaded onto a stout cord that is lashed to the heddle rod instead of being formed around a finger and transferred to a stick. Perhaps the most significant difference in weaving technique is the use of the *ruk'i*, a llama bone pick that aids in clearing the sheds and beating home the shots of weft (Fig. 23). All of this seems cumbersome and slow to master for the young woman but does not present any new conceptual challenges since all the design bands are the same hakima and chumpi patterns that she knows so well from her earlier years. The Early Awana Stage is, in this way, much like the Hakima Stage, for the weaver concentrates on mechanics and rhythm more than on the intellectual matters that dominated the Chumpi Stage. The learning process proceeds much like that of the Hakima Stage: she learns to weave first, then to set up the loom, and finally to warp.

The ambition of the Early Awana Stage women knows no bounds; many express the desire to become as good as the best weaver in town and to make a lot of money as a professional weaver. Few, if any, achieve this goal at this time; their expression of the idea indicates that they are oblivious to what seems to be a clear and common phenomenon thwarting them. Simply put, they become economically and socially successful. Before a woman has time to weave more than one of each kind of cloth her house requires, her children and her economic responsibilities grow in size and number to a point where she no longer really has time to weave. Her day is spent cooking for her family and the regular ayni crews of which her husband is a member, washing clothes, working the fields, and in going to Cuzco to buy and sell. She no longer has time to weave even enough to keep up with the growing demands of her household and finds it necessary to hire other women to weave for her. Ironically, one of the first people she may contact for this help is her old allwi masi partner who has matured into a full-time weaving specialist.

Fig. 23
Fidelia Callanaupa using a ruk'i on the llijlla loom

The Intermediate Stage

The remainder of a woman's active child-rearing years constitutes the Intermediate Stage. During this time she becomes one of the central figures in the economic and social life of the village. The key to this growth is the continued and increasing value of her agricultural products and the strength of the ayni network that has been assembled to work her family's lands. The rewards for these years of long hours and hard work are prosperity, security, and social honors, which may include community or church office for her husband and close personal involvement for her with a number of neighbors through the institution of *compadrezco.*

While the Intermediate Stage woman still fills the corners of her life with spinning, there is really no time available for weaving. As Aleja Cusihuamán put it, "I spend two hours each morning getting lunch ready for fifteen men, then I help my little one put her sheep out for the day. After that, there are clothes to wash before I take the lunch out to the fields. My schoolchildren come home for lunch, and if I try to weave in the afternoon, one of my children comes home from school and needs my help, or the baby makes a fuss. No sooner am I at the loom than I have to go do something else. "Here," she said, showing us a half-done loom, "I started this lliqlla over three months ago, and I still haven't finished half of one half. I will give it to Benita [Gutierrez] who will finish all that remains in less than a week." This seems to be the prevalent pattern for women of this age, although both Benita Gutierrez and Cipriana Quispe indicated that they spent these years heavily involved with textiles. Benita was widowed at an early age and became a weaver as a way of earning money, while Cipriana undertook the craft at Benita's advice as a way of enduring an intolerable marriage.

Curiously, although they seldom weave, Intermediate Stage women are among the most visible of the textile people in the community. Of course, from any point of view other than weaving, these years might be considered the fullest in a woman's life. She has the greatest need for textiles and the money to invest in their manufacture. Most of the cloth on which the older, more experienced weavers are working is owned in advance by Intermediate Stage women who appear at each fiesta decked out in new lliqllas and q'ipirinas while the women who wove them wear rags. This is not a simple exploitative situation. Old people in Chinchero wear rags regardless of their state of wealth or profession. Intermediate Stage women are status-conscious and ambitious, and they use textiles both as a way of demonstrating their personal affluence and as a means of making more money. Among their entrepreneurial activities is the tourist trade, and textiles are its backbone. Roughly twenty-five women sell regularly in the Sunday market in Chinchero, and Benita Gutierrez is the only one of them among the town's foremost weavers. One other (Nazaria Quispe) is in the Late Spinning Stage, and there are perhaps three Chumpi Stage girls who sell belts. The remaining women are all in the Intermediate Stage and are actively dealing in textiles as a business rather than producing them. They fill their displays with textiles from three main sources: (1) a few lliqllas are made by the town's leading weaving specialists on consignment; (2) a large percentage of the chumpis are made by the women of the Chumpi or Early Awana Stages and are sold outright to the market sellers; and (3) the bulk of the lliqllas and ponchos are purchased at low prices from the *puna runa*, the pastoralists of the puna.

The market sellers often make a good profit. A ley pattern belt, for example, is generally bought at 50 soles and sold at 200, a lliqlla can be commissioned for around 2,000 soles and sold for as much as 3,500. While profits on purchased puna pieces depend more on the woman's bargaining ability, we estimate that they must average around 100 percent. Selling to tourists in this way is, of course, an unpredictable, low-volume business, with sporadic good selling days punctuating long periods of sparse income. Nevertheless, most women we know who sell claim they can make much more money through buying and selling than they could ever hope to earn through actual weaving.

The Intermediate Stage comes to an end before a woman realizes it. As her older children marry and take on more responsi-

Fig. 24
Late Awana Stage weaver Cipriana Quispe picking up the pattern band on a llijla loom

bility for themselves and for her, she finds that her needs begin to shrink while she is still at the peak of her productive capacity. Her youngest girls reach the Chumpi Stage and are so interested and involved in running the house that time begins to collect in pockets about her day. Soon, a young friend will flatter her by thrusting her into the "master" role of an allwi masi relationship, and she cannot refuse. As she pares down her economic responsibilities and turns once again to the loom, she relaxes into the regular weaving routine of the Late Awana Stage. This is the true florescence of the Andean weaver, a florescence in the sense of productivity, not quality, since no one ever weaves a cloth of poor quality after the early Chumpi Stage, except by accident.

We wonder to what extent this Intermediate Stage is modern rather than traditional, reflecting ever greater participation in the money economy, increased desires for material possessions not locally manufactured, and the attendance of the children at school, which reduces their help at home and requires the parents' contribution of money for uniforms, books, and endless projects.

The Late Awana Stage

As the dust begins to settle after the economic whirlwind of the Intermediate Stage, a woman finds herself in the Late Awana Stage. The driving ambitions of her earlier years seem to evaporate as she realizes that she no longer has to struggle for a place in the community. That place was earned long ago and is guaranteed by the number and character of her children and godchildren. She joins the rest of the townspeople in the fields during planting and harvest time but otherwise spends very little time in economic pursuits since she is responsible only for herself and her husband. As her involvement with ayni partners diminishes, her life quiets down in general so that she is able to establish and maintain a regular

daily schedule that centers around weaving. The Late Awana Stage begins around the age of forty-five and continues as long as a woman's eyesight and manual dexterity will permit, frequently thirty years or more (Fig. 24).

When a woman returns to the loom after a hiatus of about twenty years, she is surprised to find that she is a better, and more confident weaver than ever before. Part of the explanation for this newfound expertise lies in her maturity and experience with the world in general. The textile tradition of Chinchero is a true folk art, directly related to nearly all other aspects of the culture that it serves; skills gained in one field of endeavor are generally useful in all others. One example of this can be seen in the analogy that advanced weavers draw between weaving and agriculture. This is wholly a linguistic argument on our part, based on words and concepts shared by the two endeavors. Chinchero people do not present this analogy spontaneously and are surprised by it, although they readily admit the same connections when we present the ideas to them. Perhaps this analogy was once more concrete for them but has been lost in the general disintegration of their culture in recent times; perhaps they do not recognize this specific relationship because we are dealing not simply with an analogy of textiles to agriculture but rather of both to a larger and more generalized structure that has a more profound significance in the culture as a whole. Let us examine five important words that are used in both agriculture and weaving, and explore their meanings in each context.

Pampa is most commonly used as a geographical term for a large, broad plain, such as the Pampa de Anta on which Chinchero is situated, and as such forms the backdrop for much of the agricultural life of the town. In textiles, the word pampa refers to the large, single-color, plain-woven sections that dominate the centers of the liqllas and q'ipirinas, drawing an obvious connection between two broad, featureless expanses. Plain weaving like this that uses the shedding devices to form the final picks without resorting to any pick-up at all is called *khata*. The word also refers to situations in the pattern sections in which the weft may be passed without pick-up or to the raw sheds themselves, that is, the warp configurations that result simply from the manipulation of the shedding devices. These sheds represent the raw products from which the pattern will be formed by the weaver. The *khata* of the agricultural world represents an ordering process that will eventually bear fruit in the potato field. The fields are turned over with *chaki taqllas* (foot plows) in such a way as to appear corrugated, with high places called *wacho* alternating with low places called *wayq'u*. The potatoes are planted in the high mounds, and the low places serve to channel off the water that would rot the seed. A field that has not yet been planted but has been turned over into the *wayq'u-wacho* pattern is said to be khata. There is a direct visual parallel between these two khatas—the agricultural and the woven. In the case of weaving, khata produces alternating color stripes that create visual effect similar to the alternating wayq'u-wacho pattern of the agricultural fields. We can, therefore, think of the "pampa-khata" situation as that of a broad, plain broken by fields and ready to plant or of the broad plain-colored expanse of the textile broken by the design sections in their raw form; the harvest in either case is the *pallay*. The word can literally be translated as "to pick up," but is used almost exclusively to refer to the process of harvesting potatoes or to the process of forming a design from the khata of a textile. As a noun, pallay also means the designs themselves.

Aysay is another word that is heard in both agricultural and weaving contexts. We have translated this word to mean "to order; to straighten out, as in repair," but this may not convey all of it meanings. In the potato field, aysay refers to the hoeing and hilling process in which weeds are killed, dirt is heaped on the hills, and rows are straightened out, all of which is accomplished with a tool called a *lampa*. Weavers use the word in a variety of ways: Benita Gutierrez said she was going to aysay a warp when she added, with a needle, a lista stripe that had inadvertently been omitted during warping; Cipriana Quispe complained that she couldn't aysay well when it became difficult to clear the sheds on a warp she was weaving; *aysa q'iswa* is the name of a variant of the q'iswa pattern that is also known as *kuti q'iswa*.

Another word that one encounters regu-

larly in weaving is *ñawi*. In this case, we are dealing not simply with a word that occurs in both agriculture and textiles, but with a concept that is fundamental to the Quechua understanding of most situations. Ñawi can be used to refer to the human eye, the eye of the potato, or almost any other spot from which something material or spiritual might issue. Thus, a spring of water is called ñawi and so is a knot or swirl in the grain of a piece of wood since it indicates that a branch once grew through that place. Weavers use the ñawi concept to describe a number of different features of a design; perhaps the most significant of these is the use of the word to describe the "pebbles"of the so-called Andean pebble weave. These are small, one-weft spots of contrasting color within a single color field that serve structurally to tie down the warp floats. Chinchero folks call them not pebbles, but ñawi, and say that from these ñawi, the pattern flows.

Our purpose here is not to present extensive arguments about the existence of this analogy between agriculture and textiles, but to demonstrate the interconnectedness of all aspects of Chinchero life as a way of explaining the apparent improvement in a woman's textile skills during years when she spends very little time weaving. This is the case because speed and efficiency in Chinchero weaving come more from mental agility than from mechanical skill, and a person's comprehension of the process improves as she gains experience with the world in general. There is no question that women at this stage of life are the town's superior weavers, both in terms of quality and quantity. Benita Gutierrez estimated for us that she weaves ten lliqllas, three or four ponchos, and an armful of chumpis in a single year (measured from *fiesta patronal* to *fiesta patronal*), while Cipriana Quispe claimed to have woven in the past year ten lliqllas, no ponchos, very few chumpis and two k'epirinas every month—perhaps as many as thirty major pieces of cloth. Benita's figures may be slightly exaggerated, but we saw Cipriana produce three complete lliqllas in the space of five weeks. "She ought to be fast," her children said, "That's all she ever does!"

The most concrete testament to the skill of the Late Awana Stage weavers comes from the women of other stages of life who look to them when they choose allwi masi or someone to do the fine, commissioned pieces that are the mark of a prosperous woman in Chinchero society. Production of a volume of high-quality cloth continues through the remainder of a woman's career as an active weaver, which comes to a close when old age has stiffened her body and weakened her eyesight.

The Late Spinning Stage

Old age comes to the Chincherina, closing the Late Awana Stage, and it slows her considerably. She spends as little effort and money on herself as possible, dressing in rags and living in her eroding, swayed-roof house either alone or with her husband. All of her productive resources now belong to her children who support her and visit her daily for conversation and shared household chores. Work in the fields is generally out of the question, although she may help prepare lunch and tag along for the drinking and conviviality of the work crews. She finds she has come full circle and is once again limited to the role of shepherd. Perhaps she and her six-year-old great-granddaughter form a team to watch the family's sheep graze upon the steep, sunny Andean hillsides.

A woman's capabilities in the textile arts are severely limited when her fingers become stiff or she can no longer see well, but older women are by no means idle. While they can no longer produce the fine textiles that marked the earlier years, Late Spinning Stage women may lend a hand in teaching when asked and take particular pride in demonstrating old, outmoded patterns and techniques. We learned to make the *ñawi awapa* tubular edging for the lliqllas from eighty-five-year-old Benita Quispe who laughed at the things she had forgotten about it and had to ask us to find yarns that eluded her dim eyes. Benita wears a magical lluq'i thread about her arthritic ankle and finds it necessary to change position regularly as she works; nevertheless, she managed to weave several lovely *luraypu* belts of heavy blanket yarn when she needed money. The principal role of Benita Quispe and women like her in the community is to produce yarn for the younger women, though a few are thought to have special knowledge of herbal curing or coca

reading and so on. Like the Early Spinning Stage women, these older women have the time to develop speed and efficiency in spinning and can produce prodigious quantities of *q'aytu*, or hand-spun yarn. Nazaria Quispe is a vigorous lady of perhaps seventy-five years, formerly a fine weaver, who found herself in the Late Spinning Stage somewhat prematurely due to the formation of corneal cataracts. Her production is probably typical of serious older spinners: it is fast both in ten-minute spans and by the day.

The Late Spinning Stage lasts until the end of a woman's productive life. Those who survive it pass their few remaining years sitting quietly in the sunshine of their household courtyards, still contributing to their families their advice or thoughts.

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